

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BELGRA 01588 01 OF 03 270756Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00
NSCE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 H-01 INR-10 IO-13 L-03
OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00
NSC-05 ACDA-12 HA-05 COME-00 BIB-01 CU-04 DOE-11
SOE-02 DOEE-00 OES-07 EB-08 /131 W
-----048607 270848Z /17

O R 270611Z FEB 78
FM USDEL BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5464
INFO CSCE CONFERENCE COLLECTIVE
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
USIA WASHDC
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 BELGRADE 1588

FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV FROM USDEL CSCE

GENEVA FOR USDEL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION
CINCEUR FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE OCON
SUBJ: BELGRADE CSCE -- WEEKLY HIGHLIGHTS, FEB 18-24

SUMMARY: SOVIETS TURNED DOWN FRENCH UNILATERAL COMPROMISE
DRAFT OF A COMPREHENSIVE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT AT BEGINNING
OF WEEK. AFTER SWISS REP VOICED HITHERTO UNSPEAKABLE CONCEPT,
CONFERENCE BEGAN TO CONCENTRATE ON PRODUCTION OF A SHORT,
COMMUNIQUE-LIKE TEXT. WHILE CONCEPT OF A SHORT DOCUMENT IS NOW
WIDELY ACCEPTED, IT IS PROVING BY NO MEANS EASY TO DECIDE WHAT
SUCH AN ABBREVIATED DOCUMENT SHOULD INCLUDE. ALLIES, WHO FILED
THEIR OWN DRAFT OF A COMPREHENSIVE SUBSTANTIVE DOCUMENT EARLY
IN WEEK IN ORDER TO MARK FOR PUBLIC POSITIONS WE HAVE BEEN
WORKING FOR THROUGHOUT BELGRADE MEETING, BELIEVE A SHORT DOCUMENT
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BELGRA 01588 01 OF 03 270756Z

MUST BE NON-SUBSTANTIVE. NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED (NNA)
ARE LOOSELY SUPPORTING LAST-DITCH YUGOSLAV EFFORT TO ORGANIZE
NEGOTIATIONS ON BASIS OF A SHORT DOCUMENT THAT RETAINS FAIR
AMOUNT OF SUBSTANCE BUT IS UNBALANCED SINCE IT HAS NOTHING OF
PRIMARY ALLIED CONCERNS, HUMAN RIGHTS AND BASKET THREE HUMAN
CONTACTS. BOTH EAST AND WEST ARE ATTEMPTING TO AVOID TAKING
ON SELVES ONUS OF FINALLY VETOING IDEA OF A SUBSTANTIVE DOCUMENT.

AT END OF WEEK, NATO CAUCUS AUTHORIZED AMB GOLDBERG AND DANISH AMB (AS PRESIDENT OF EC-9) TO REPRESENT IT IN INFORMAL CONTACTS WITH SOVIET AND NNA. WITH EVENTS MOVING FAIRLY RAPIDLY TOWARD CLOSE OF CONFERENCE, HOWEVER, SOVIETS HAVE TOUGHENED THEIR STAND ON AN APPARENTLY PROCEDURAL ISSUE WHICH COULD HAVE SERIOUS IMPLICATIONS FOR NATURE OF SUBSEQUENT CSCE FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS. END SUMMARY.

1. FRENCH, WHO HAD PUT FORWARD THEIR UNILATERAL INITIATIVE FEB 17 WITHOUT GREAT HOPE THAT IT COULD BREAK CONFERENCE DEADLOCK, ADMITTED FEB 20 THAT IT HAD FAILED. SOVIETS SIGNALLED THEIR UNWILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY ON FRENCH DRAFT BY USING SAME FORMULAS (NO REVISION OF FINAL ACT, NO LEGITIMIZATION OF INTERVENTION) IN BREZHNEV LETTER TO GISCARD THAT THEY HAVE BEEN USING FOR WEEKS IN REFUSING TO WORK ON NNA'S FEB 1 INITIATIVE. SWISS REP, TO SURPRISE OF HIS OWN NNA COLLEAGUES, THEN IN EFFECT SIGNALLED FAILURE OF NNA MIDDLE-MAN EFFORTS, TELLING PLENARY FEB 20 THAT IT WAS APPARENT A COMPREHENSIVE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT COULD NOT BE ACHIEVED BECAUSE SOVIETS LACKED POLITICAL WILL TO NEGOTIATE ON POINTS OF BASIC IMPORTANCE TO MANY DELEGATIONS. HE SAID THAT SOVIET ALTERNATIVE, AGREEMENT ON A DOCUMENT THAT WAS 15-20 PAGES LONG BUT IGNORED AREAS SUCH AS HUMAN RIGHTS, WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE. ONLY COURSE OPEN, HE CONCLUDED, WAS STRIPPING DOCUMENT DOWN TO A BARE MINIMUM OF TWO OR THREE PAGES.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BELGRA 01588 01 OF 03 270756Z

2. EASTERN DELEGATIONS QUICKLY PRAISED SWISS STATEMENT AS POLITICAL REALISM. OTHER NNA REACTED WITH SOME DISMAY BUT WITHIN A FEW DAYS APPEARED TO ACCEPT THAT THERE WAS NO OTHER WAY OUT OF IMPASSE CREATED BY RIGID SOVIET REFUSAL TO COUNTENANCE ANY HUMAN RIGHTS-HUMAN CONTACTS LANGUAGE IN CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. ALLIES INDICATED THEY WOULD GIVE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION TO SWISS IDEAS. OUR FIRST REACTION, HOWEVER, WAS TO FILE OUR COMPREHENSIVE DRAFT CONCLUDING DOCUMENT AS PREVIOUSLY PLANNED FEB 21. ALLIES CONSIDERED IT IMPORTANT TO PUT ON RECORD WESTERN CONCEPTION OF WHAT A MEANINGFUL DOCUMENT MIGHT HAVE LOOKED LIKE HAD SOVIETS BEEN FLEXIBLE. TEXT WHICH WAS SPONSORED BY ALL NATO DELS EXCEPT FRANCE, AND ALSO BY IRELAND, IS SEVERAL NOTCHES ABOVE BOTH FRENCH AND NNA PAPERS ON HUMAN RIGHTS, RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUAL, HUMAN CONTACTS AND ASSESSMENT OF IMPLEMENTATION DEFICIENCIES, BUT IT CONTAINS ESSENTIALLY MODERATE STATEMENTS OF COMMON POSITIONS WEST HAS TAKEN AT BELGRADE AS WELL AS A NUMBER OF COMPROMISES TO REFLECT ACCEPTABLE EASTERN PROPOSALS. ALLIES HOPE THAT THIS DRAFT WILL BE USEFUL BOTH TO DEMONSTRATE TO PUBLIC WHAT BELGRADE MEETING HAS BEEN DEALING WITH AND ALSO TO SERVE AS A PLATFORM FOR NEXT MEETING IN MADRID.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BELGRA 01588 02 OF 03 270819Z

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00
NSCE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 H-01 INR-10 IO-13 L-03
OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00
NSC-05 ACDA-12 HA-05 COME-00 BIB-01 CU-04 DOE-11
SOE-02 DOEE-00 OES-07 EB-08 /131 W
-----048681 270848Z /17

O R 270611Z FEB 78

FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WAHSDC IMMEDIATE 5465

INFO CSCE CONFERENCE COLLECTIVE

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

USIA WASHDC

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 BELGRADE 1588

FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV FROM USDEL CSCE
GENEVA FOR USDEL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION
CINCEUR FOR POLAD

3. AT SAME TIME, ALLIED CAUCUS DEVELOPIED A DRAFT OF SHORT-FORM,
NON-SUBSTANTIVE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. IT IS A BIT OVER ONE PAGE
WITH AN ANNEX THAT CONTAINS A FURTHER ONE AND A HALF PAGES.
IT MEETS ALL TECHNICAL REQUIREMENTS, INCLUDING SOME BRIEF
PROTOCOL LANGUAGE, A STATEMENT THAT IN ACCORDANCE WITH ITS
MANDATE CONFERENCE CONDUCTED A THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS,
DECISION TO CONVENE TWO EXPERTS GROUPS (ON DEVELOPMENT OF A
PEACEFUL SETTLEMENTS OF DISPUTES MECHANISM AND SCIENTIFIC
FORUM) MANDATED BY FINAL ACT, AND DECISION ON DATE AND PLACE
OF NEXT FOLLOW-UP MEETING (MADRID, IN FEB 1980). ON U.S.
INSISTENCE, IT ALSO INCLUDES A FEW SENTENCES NOTING THAT
DIVERGENT VIEWS WERE EXPRESSED DURING MEETING AND THOUGH
IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO REACH AGREEMENT ON NEW PROPOSALS,
EXPRESSION OF THESE VIEWS ITSELF HAD BEEN USEFUL.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BELGRA 01588 02 OF 03 270819Z

4. NATO CAUCUS CONSIDERED, HOWEVER, THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT ALLIES NOT BE SEEN AS ONES WHO SPONSORED IDEA OF SUCH A DOCUMENT. OUR DOCUMENT IS THUS BEING HELD IN REVERSE FOR TIME BEING. NNA WERE LOGICAL CONDIDATES TO PRODUCE A NEW DRAFT, BUT THEY RAN INTO DIFFICULTIES. SEVER), APPARENTLY INCLUDING SWISS, BELIEVED THAT PURELY FACTUAL DOCUMENT WAS ALL THAT SHOULD BE ATTEMPTED. OTHER, LIKE MALTESE, WISHED TO MAKE EFFORT TO GET AGREEMENT ON POINTS OF PARACHIAL CONCERN. YUGOSLAVS PUSHED HARD FOR FURTHER EFFORT TO INCLUDE SIGNIFICANT SUBSTANCE, STRESSING THAT, AS HOST COUNTRY, THEY CONSIDERED THEIR POLITICAL PRESTIGE TO BE AT STAKE.

5. AFTER TWO DAYS OF EFFORT, NNA FINALLY CONCLUDED FEB 23 THAT IT COULD NOT PRODUCE COMMON TEXT. YUGOSLAVS THEN PUT OUT THEIR OWN VERSION THAT, IN ABOUT FOUR PAGES, INCLUDES LANGUAGE ON IMPLEMENTATION DIFFICULTIES, DISARMAMENT, ENERGY INITIATIVES IN ECE, AND EXPERTS MEETINGS ON CMBS, PEACEFUL SETTLE MENT, SCIENTIFIC FORUM, THE MEDITERRANEAN (LIMITED TO ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL SUBJECTS) AND FLOW OF INFORMATION PROBLEMS. BY FEBRUARY 24 YUGOSLAVS HAD RALLIED REST OF NNA CAUCUS TO GIVE AT LEAST LOOSE SUPPORT TO THEIR INITIATIVE.

6. ALLIES CONSIDER THAT YUGOSLAV DOCUMENT IN ITS PRESENT FORM IS UNACCEPTABLE BECAUSE IT TREATS FINAL ACT SELECTIVELY. WE BELIEVE THAT BALANCE MUST BE RESTORED EITHER BY ADDING PROVISIONS ON HUMAN RIGHTS-HUMAN CONTACTS, IN WHICH CASE WE COULD THEN NEGOTIATE ON INDIVIDUAL POINTS, OR BY STRIPPING AWAY THE SUBSTANCE THAT HAS BEEN SELECTIVELY INCLUDED UNTIL WHAT REMAINS IS SIMILAR TO ALLIED DRAFT. SOVIETS HAVE LESS PROBLEM WITH YUGOSLAV DRAFT SINCE THEY WOULD WELCOME A PURPORTEDLY POLITICAL DOCUMENT THAT IGNORED HUMAN RIGHTS. THEY HAVE INDICATED THEY CAN ACCEPT MOST OF YUGOSLAV TEXT WHILE WISHING TO DROP INFORMATION EXPERTS GROUP AND RECAST SEVERAL OTHER PARAGRAPHS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BELGRA 01588 02 OF 03 270819Z

(IN PARTICULAR, WE ASSUME, THOS SUGGESTING THERE HAVE BEEN IMPLEMENTATION DEFICIENCIES).

7. NATO CAUCUS DESIGNATED AMB GOLDBERG AND DANISH AMB TO REPRESENT IT IN INFORMAL CONTACTS WITH NNA AND WITH SOVIETS FEB 24 AND OVER WEEKEND. WE EXPECT THAT DIFFICULTIES WITH YUGOSLAV DRAFT WILL QUICKLY BECOME APPARENT TO OTHER NNA, WHOSE SUPPORT APPEARS IN ANY EVENT TO BE BASED MORE ON DESIRE TO BE POLITE TO HOST COUNTRY THEN BELIEF THAT A SUBSTANTIVE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT IS STILL ACHIEVABLE. BOTH EAST AND WEST WILL CONTINUE EFFORT TO ENSURE THAT THE OTHER IS THE ONE THAT ASSUMES RESPONSIBILITY FOR FINALLY MOVING CONFERENCE TO A FACTUAL DOCUMENT, AND MAVERICKS SUCH AS MALTESE MAY DELAY MATTER, BUT THE TREND APPEARS CLEAR.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BELGRA 01588 03 OF 03 270833Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00
NSCE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 H-01 INR-10 IO-13 L-03
OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00
NSC-05 ACDA-12 HA-05 COME-00 BIB-01 CU-04 DOE-11
SOE-02 DOEE-00 OES-07 EB-08 /131 W
-----048741 270848Z /17

O R 270611Z FEB 78
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5466
INFO CSCE CONFERENCE COLLECTIVE
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
USIA WASHDC
USCINCEUR VAHINGEN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 BELGRADE 1588

FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV FROM USDEL CSCE
GENEVA FOR USDEL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION
CINCEUR FOR POLAD

8. WHILE BELGRADE MEETING IS ENTERING ITS LAST PHASE, THERE
REMAINS ONE IMPORTANT NEGOTIATING ISSUE THAT WILL NOT BE
SETTLED BY DECISION TO OPT FOR A SHORT, FACTUAL DOCUMENT.
SOVIETS HAVE THROUGHOUT MEETING TAKEN FAIRLY TOUGH STAND IN
FURTHER FOLLOW-UP WORKING GROUP THAT MADRID MEETING NEED NOT
NECESSARILY BE BOUND BY BELGRADE PRECEDENTS. THEY HAD SUGGESTED,
HOWEVER, THAT THEY COULD ACCEPT SOME SORT OF FORMULATION THAT
THE BELGRADE MODALITIES (THE YELLOW BOOK) NEGOTIATED AT LAST
SUMMER'S PREPARATORY MEETING WOULD FORM A MAJOR BASIS FOR MADRID.
IN LAST FEW DAYS, HOWEVER, SOVIETS HAVE TOUGHENED THEIR POSITION,
INSISTING THAT MADRID MEETING MUST BE COMPLETELY AT LIBERTY TO
DECIDE ITS OWN MODALITIES WITHOUT REGARD TO BELGRADE
EXPERIENCE. WHAT APPEARS TO BE BEHIND SOVIET INSISTENCE IS
DESIRE TO DOWNGRADE BELGRADE PROCEEDINGS AND TO STRENGTHEN
THEIR HAND FOR FIGHT AT MADRID TO WEAKEN REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BELGRA 01588 03 OF 03 270833Z

MECHANISM. SOVIETS WOULD CLEARLY LIKE, FOR EXAMPLE, TO AVOID COMMITTEES AT MADRID SINCE A MEETING CONDUCTED AT PLENARY LEVEL WOULD HAVE DIFFICULTY CONDUCTING TYPE OF DETAILED REVIEW THAT WAS FEATURE OF BELGRADE MEETING.

9. U.S. POSITION IS TO SUPPORT INCLUSION OF APPROPRIATE REFERENCE TO YELLOW BOOK AS BASIS FOR MADRID MEETING. SOME EC-9 ALLIES, WHILE SUPPORTING THIS CONCEPT, BELIEVE THT ISSUE WILL NONETHELESS HAVE TO BE FOUGHT OUT AGAIN AT MADRID PREPARATORY MEETING. ISSUE, HOWEVER, CUTS ACROSS IDEOLOGICAL SPECTRUM. YUGOSLAVS AND ROMANIANS ARE AMONG STRONGEST PROPONENTS OF YELLOW BOOK. ROMANIAN AMB HAS TOLD US HE BELIEVES SOVIETS ARE SEEKING TO WEAKEN CSCE FOLLOW-UP PROCESS SERIOUSLY AND THAT THEIR POSITION IS SO UNPOPULAR IN WARSAW PACT CAUCUS THAT POLES AND HUNGARIANS ARE SIGNALLING THEIR DISPLEASURE IN ONLY WAY THEY CAN, BY STAYING AWAY FROM INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS HELD AT END OF LAST WEEK.
GOLDBERG

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 27 feb 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978BELGRA01588
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780089-0335
Format: TEL
From: BELGRADE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780211/aaaaaimz.tel
Line Count: 295
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: fe8008ce-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 23 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3449199
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: BELGRADE CSCE -- WEEKLY HIGHLIGHTS, FEB 18-24 SUMMARY: SOVIETS TURNED DOWN FRENCH UNILATERAL COMPROMISE DRAFT OF A COMPREHENSIVE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT AT BE
TAGS: OCON, CSCE
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/fe8008ce-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014